Inhabiting Domestic Space: Becoming Different in the Early Iron Age Western Mediterranean

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Abstract

The archaeology of indigenous houses in the western Mediterranean during the Orientalising period has been largely neglected. Scholars have traditionally focused on funerary contexts and the 'Orientalising' style of native elites, to the point that we know little of the everyday life of people before and during colonial contact in Italy and Iberia. Drawing on the Deleuzian concept of becoming (different), this study explores the flow of continuities and discontinuities in houses and household activities in two western Mediterranean regions—the Bay of Naples in Italy and southern Spain—between the ninth and sixth century BC. The aim is to obtain a better understanding of the close relationships between domestic space, people, material culture, memory, sensorial experiences, and sociocultural practices in these two areas over a period of almost 400 years.

Keywords: *assemblage, Bay of Naples, becoming, Early Iron Age, houses, material culture, south Iberia*

Introduction

The importance of houses and households for understanding past and present societies has been explored by both anthropologists and archaeologists since the 1960s (e.g. Rapoport

1969; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Allison 1999, with further refs.). The household is the basic unit of analysis in many economic approaches, but it is first and foremost the everyday setting where social, cultural, political, and familial relationships come into play with each other (Bachelard 1994; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Lefebvre 1970).

Yet for the Orientalising period, especially in the central-western Mediterranean, scholars have mainly explored funerary evidence (e.g. Cuozzo 2003; Torres 2005; Riva 2010; Wagner 2013). Household studies for this period have been scarcer, and have traditionally focused on the colonial contacts of Phoenicians and Greeks (D'Andria and Mannino 1996; Ruiz and Celestino 2001; Gener Basallote *et al.* 2014; Delgado *et al.* 2015). Only recently have critical analyses of indigenous houses been published, examining social, economic, and political continuities and transformations (e.g. Delgado 2005; Mühlenbock 2008).

The present study follows this latter line of research, comparing households in two different regions, the Bay of Naples in Italy and southern Iberia, between the ninth and sixth century BC. Indigenous groups in the region of the Bay of Naples were in close contact with Phoenicians and Greeks living in Pithekoussai and Cuma (Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Cuozzo 2003; Melandri 2010; Greco and Mermati 2011). Local communities in south Andalusia established intimate contact with Phoenicians, sharing material culture and practices (Suárez 2006; Delgado and Ferrer 2007). Family relations have recently been attested through DNA analyses of the remains of a sixth-century BC individual from Gadir. The analysis indicated that the man was the offspring of an indigenous (European) woman and a Phoenician (Near Eastern) man (Gener Basallote *et al.* 2014: 38-39).

This does not mean, however, that coexistence was always peaceful in the Bay of Naples and in Spain. Remains of a battle have been recently revealed at the gates of Cuma, dated to the sixth century BC (Carannante *et al.* 2012). In south Iberia, several Phoenician

sites were fortified, such as Castillo de Doña Blanca in the eighth century BC (Ruiz 2001: 264), and Toscanos and Alarcón in the seventh century BC (Niemeyer 1986: 116-17).

Precisely because of that ambiguous relationship between colonisers and local people, both of these regions represent excellent case studies to analyse continuities and discontinuities in households, for their characteristic mixture of different traditions and innovations, and for the social asymmetries and power relationships that those transformations entailed.

In what follows, I first outline the Deleuzian concept of 'becoming' in relation to houses and the construction of the self, which improves our understanding of familial and community relations in the western Mediterranean Iron Age. Secondly, I describe the geographical location and resources of the Bay of Naples and south Iberia, and analyse houses, material culture, diet, and household economic activities in both areas. In the last section, I offer a discussion of the theoretical and methodological background and the archaeological evidence. The analysis aims at providing a better understanding of how different assemblages of material culture, people, emotions, sensorial experiences, and houses were continuously transformed and produced new 'becomings' in the western Mediterranean during the ninth to sixth century BC.

Unfolding Relationships: An Archaeology of Becoming

For Deleuze, becoming is the affirmation of being—not a fixed, stable state of being, but a multi-dimensional becoming of being. Contrary to Platonic notions of fixed qualities, being, and identity, Deleuze argues that the self must be conceived as a multiplicity, which he understands to be the 'inseparable manifestation, essential transformation and constant symptom of unity' (Deleuze 1983: 23-24). Since the self is a process of becoming—a

constant transformation—it is thus characterised by pure difference, not by sameness or identification (Deleuze 1994).

Material culture and people always exist as becomings, for they are never completed and are always in relation to something else, and therefore in transformation (Viveiros de Castro 2010). Becoming is neither

> a resemblance, an imitation… Becoming produces nothing other than itself. We fall into a false alternative if we say that you either imitate or you are. What is real is the becoming itself, the block of becoming, not the supposedly fixed terms through which that which becomes passes (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 262).

The Deleuzian conceptualisation of difference and becoming is important because archaeologists have fought for decades—and continue to do so—over questions of originality, imitation and (unequal and unsatisfactory) copying regarding material culture and practices, especially in contexts of cultural contact and colonialism (e.g. Graells *et al.* 2014).

Identity issues have similarly flooded archaeological studies over the last two centuries. Scholars have historically identified a 'cultural group' or society by their architectural features, their pottery, and their tools, essentialising identities in the past – a practice that more recently has been brought into question (e.g. van Dommelen 2001; Borgstede and Yaeger 2008; Mac Sweeney 2009). Material culture is embedded in self-construction, cultural and social relations, and meanings and practices, and therefore its affiliation may change over time and/or depending on the group or the social segment of the population that is using it.

Assemblages are complex arrangements of bodies, objects, houses, environments, institutions, emotions, and practices that combine for a period of time to create different

becomings. Each of the heterogeneous components is connected to one another in a rhizomatic form, i.e., an extensive web of connections (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 9-10). The authors give primacy to what that new assemblage does/transforms in connection with other things, to the new becoming, not to the form it represents (Viveiros de Castro 2010: 105).

Therefore, the stage in which an indigenous pot in Andalusia 'copies' one or more features (technological or aesthetic) of a Phoenician pot is not important: what is important is the effect it has on the population who is using it, the production of a new becoming. The indigenous pot does not reproduce the Phoenician vessel: it forms a map with it in a rhizome, and that map can be modified, reversed, adapted, and reworked by any group at any time (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 12-13).

Houses are meaningful case studies in this regard, for they are not only a shelter, but also the creation of a space that both illuminates and moulds the worldviews of its builders and inhabitants. Dwellings are deeply embedded in sociocultural traditions, and their building materials, plans and material culture reflect a distinct symbolism shared by a specific community (Allison 2004; Nevett 2010). The furniture, decoration, and spatial arrangement of houses express a particular way of dwelling in the space, as well as specific community and/or individual practices (Gilboa *et al.* 2014; Delgado *et al.* 2015; Faust and Katz 2017). Households thus embody power and gender relations inscribed in the use of the space and the distribution of economic activities (Lefebvre 1970; Montón and Sánchez 2008; Hendon 2010).

Furthermore, domestic spaces align multisensory inputs, insofar as they constitute a cognitive map of olfactory, visual, aural, and tactile impressions that create a sense of place (Hamilakis 2014; Erwine 2017). Different sensorial experiences provide access to singular aspects of the domestic space, and function as mnemonic devices for easily recalling individual and family memories. Sensorial impressions, dwelling layouts, material culture,

and building materials and techniques are constellations of memories that foster ties among the members of the community (Bachelard 1994; Bahloul 1996; Haber 2011).

Over and above memories, however, the dwelling one is born in 'is physically inscribed in us. It is a group of organic habits… In short, the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting' (Bachelard 1994: 14-15). Abodes require a kinaesthetic experience, insofar they delimit and dictate to visitors and inhabitants a particular itinerary when moving through the domestic space. Moreover, aural, visual, and tactile experiences, together with bodily movement through space, are essential in the learning of children, and thus in social and cultural reproduction (Smith 2014). Since material culture and interactions change over time, the construction of the self is always a mixture between traditions, habits, and memory, and new combinations of forces—material, political, social, cultural, etc. (Deleuze 1994).

I understand houses as complex assemblages of objects, sensorial experiences, building materials and techniques, plans, perceptions, movements, people, habits, emotions, food, memories, animals, and actions, in which each element affects the other—what Harris (2014: 91) labels 'affective communities'. Each of the events that occur in and around the dwelling are a unique confluence of forces that creates different becomings.

In what follows, I describe the archaeological evidence we have for analysing houses, their social, economic, cultural, and ritual activities, and their material culture in the region of the Bay of Naples and in south Iberia between the ninth and sixth century BC. Subsequently, I explore the formation of different assemblages in both areas by looking at dissimilar houses, objects and practices, and continuities and discontinuities, in order to get a better grip on self-development and becomings.

Domestic Space in the Bay of Naples

Contextualisation of the Sites

Settlement information, and by extension domestic structures, are barely known in the region of the Bay of Naples; this stands in contrast to cemeteries, which have been extensively excavated. The location of each of the settlements varies greatly. Thus, Castiglione, Cuma, and Villaggio dei Ciclamini are located on hills that could have provided optimal control of the territory. The first two are situated on the coast and thus have direct access to the sea, while Ciclamini is situated in the hinterland. The settlements of Capua and Pompeii, by contrast, are found in fertile plains, the former on the shore of the Volturno, the latter on the Sarno. Longola di Poggiomarino is a special case, because it is a lacustrine settlement, near the coast but located in the interior, not very distant from Pompeii (Figure 1).

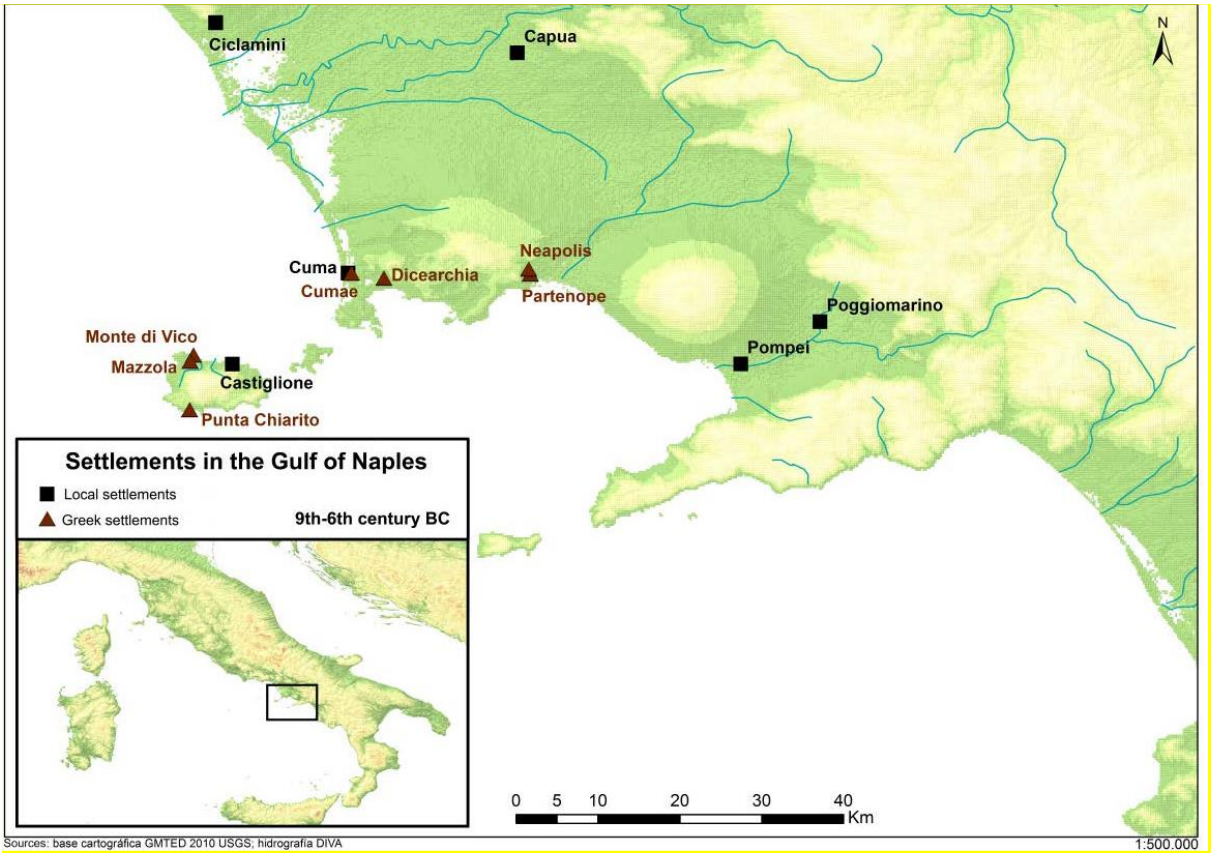

Fig.1

Continuous habitation throughout the period makes these sites fascinating case studies to analyse continuities and discontinuities over time. Castiglione and Cuma were inhabited from the Bronze Age until the eighth century BC (Buchner 1948: 35-42; Jannelli 2001: 81-88); Longola di Poggiomarino until the sixth century BC (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012); and Pompeii until its destruction in 79 AD (Robinson 2008). The settlement of Capua seems to have begun in the tenth century BC (Allegro and Santaniello 2008) and has survived until the present day (Santa Maria Capua Vetere). The Villaggio dei Ciclamini began its journey in the ninth century BC and only remained inhabited until the seventh century BC (Crimaco *et al.* 2007).

The available information regarding domestic structures on Ischia and in Campania does not allow an analysis of settlement organisation, because only limited areas have been excavated. Still, it seems that at Longola di Poggiomarino there were specific places for carrying out metallurgical work, separate from the dwellings, and there were also communal places dedicated to religious rituals (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012). The organisation of the other villages seems to have been dispersed, as in the case of Ciclamini, Castiglione, and Cuma (Greco and Mermati 2011: 110).

Houses in the Bay of Naples

Local houses in Campania were wattle-and-daub buildings from the tenth until the end of the sixth century BC (Carafa 1998: 211-15; Crimaco *et al.* 2007; Allegro and Santaniello 2008; D'Alessio 2008; Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012). Dwellings in Capua, Pompeii, and probably Cuma (Jannelli 2001) appear to have been made using wood poles that were then covered in roofing material like grass or straw. At Poggiomarino, people built their houses of oak and located them on small islets encircled by an enclosure to prevent water intake. Habitations at Castiglione and at Villaggio dei Ciclamini were carved out of rock, built up

using wood and mud (Figure 2), and roofed in a way similar to other Campanian sites (Buchner 1948: 35-42; Crimaco *et al.* 2007).

Fig.2

House layout varied between sites until the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century BC, when they all presented orthogonal plans. The study of house design at Castiglione and Capua up to this point is complicated because publications refer only to the existence of dwellings, without indicating their type of plan or dimensions (Buchner 1948; Allegro and Santaniello 2008). More information is available in the case of the settlements of Longola and Ciclamini. The layout of houses at Longola di Poggiomarino was rectangular, with an apse in one of the short sides, always having the entry in one of the longer sides (Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005). In Ciclamini, in contrast, the shape of the dwellings is circular (Crimaco *et al.* 2007); in Pompeii there are contemporaneous houses with oval and rectangular floor plans (Carafa 1998; D'Alessio 2008).

Domestic spaces were single multifunctional rooms, except in the case of Poggiomarino, where houses were internally compartmentalised by a wooden partition into two or more spaces from the eighth century BC onwards (Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005). Houses were at the centre of economic production in the region of the Bay of Naples until at least the sixth century BC. This does not mean, however, that these sites did not have a complex economy and that they were not involved in medium- and long-distance trade. For example,, a segment of the population at Longola was highly specialised in the working of amber, with the raw material having come primarily from the Baltic (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2008: 475). Similarly, Longola metalworkers were in contact, directly or indirectly, with the population of southwestern Sardinia and the communities settled around Riotinto in Huelva, according to archaeometric analysis of lead samples (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2008: 478).

One of the most important activities carried out at home in the region of the Bay of Naples was textile production, as evidenced at Poggiomarino (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2008: 478), and at Castiglione (Buchner 1948: 40). Spindle whorls, various spindles, several spools, and needles testify to spinning and weaving activities within the domestic space. The preparation of food, however, is the best-documented activity in all analysed settlements (Buchner 1948: 39-40; Jannelli 2001; Crimaco *et al.* 2007; Allegro and Santaniello 2008; Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012). It is worth noting the similarities of cooking pots at all sites throughout the period, although cups and bowls used for the preparation and/or consumption of food at all sites vary in size and style.. The type of container used for storage and, perhaps, transportation varies from one settlement to another: it seems that *dolia* (large ceramic container) were chosen by the population of the Italtel in Capua, whereas *amphorae* were used by the communities of Cuma and Longola. Biconical vessels of Villanovan tradition have been found at Castiglione, Cuma, and Italtel-Capua. It is likely that these

differences in a relatively small geographical area reflect dissimilar local ways of understanding food storage and transportation.

Towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BC, particularly in Capua and Pompeii, houses began to be constructed with different building techniques (Maiuri 1973: 165-69; Allegro 1984; Regis 2011). In Pompeii, houses were constructed with rectangular squared stone blocks (Maiuri 1973: 161-82; Esposito 2008; Pesando 2010: 234-35) and were probably tiled as well (Figure 3). Dwellings were made of mud walls on a stone base. In Capua, particularly in the Siepone and Alveo Marotta districts (Figure 4), houses were built with irregular tuff blocks, and in the Siepone, roofs were tiled (Allegro 1984; Regis 2011), a transformation from the previous thatched roofs. Dwellings no longer had oval floor plans, as some did until the sixth century BC, but instead consistently had rectangular or quadrangular plans, with stone partition walls.

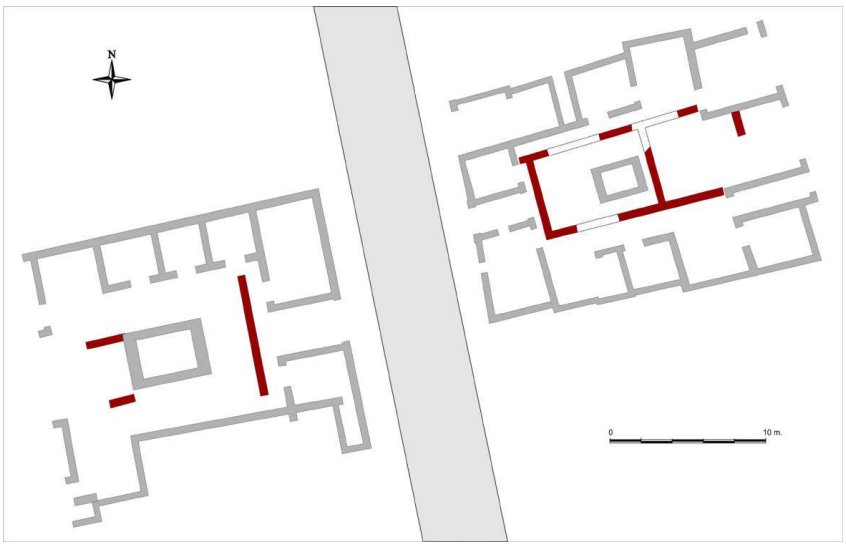

Fig.3

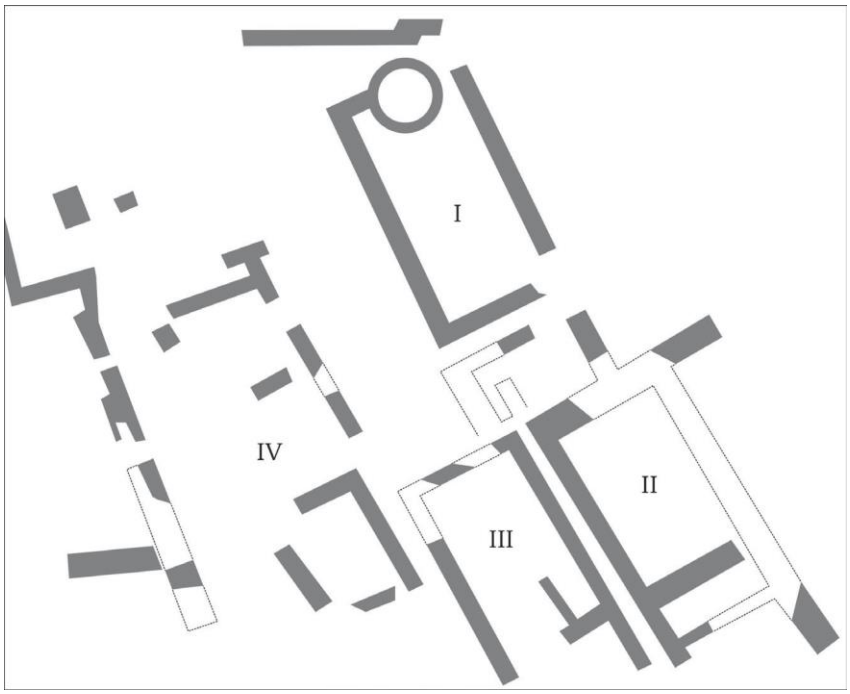

Fig.4

Most houses, however, continue to be multi-functional spaces in which cooking, textile production, and other economic activities were carried out in a shared area (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012; Minoja 2011). However, although houses at Poggiomarino continued to have differentiated areas, , especially for amber and metalworking (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2012) amber resin waste has been found all over the settlement (Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2008: 478), which indicates that many economic activities took place close to the dwelling, and not necessarily in specialized areas of the village. The working of amber thus lay in close proximity to other economic activities such as food preparation, consumption, pottery making, and textile production, which suggests that the house was the centre of economic production.

A set of drinking vessels found in dwellings at Poggiomarino dated to the end of the seventh century BC attests to the existing relationship between these communities and the Etruscans, as well as with the Greeks and Phoenicians at Pithekoussai and Cuma. Nevertheless, handmade pottery of traditional style persisted from the tenth to the sixth century BC at all settlements (Figure 5), despite the introduction of the potter's wheel

(Pugliese Carratelli 1996: 550). Thus, the most represented types at all settlements were still cooking pots, bowls, and cups (Marín-Aguilera 2015b: Table 6). Greek and Phoenician pottery, as well as local 'imitations', were more abundant in funerary contexts in the region (see also Cuozzo 2003; Melandri 2010).

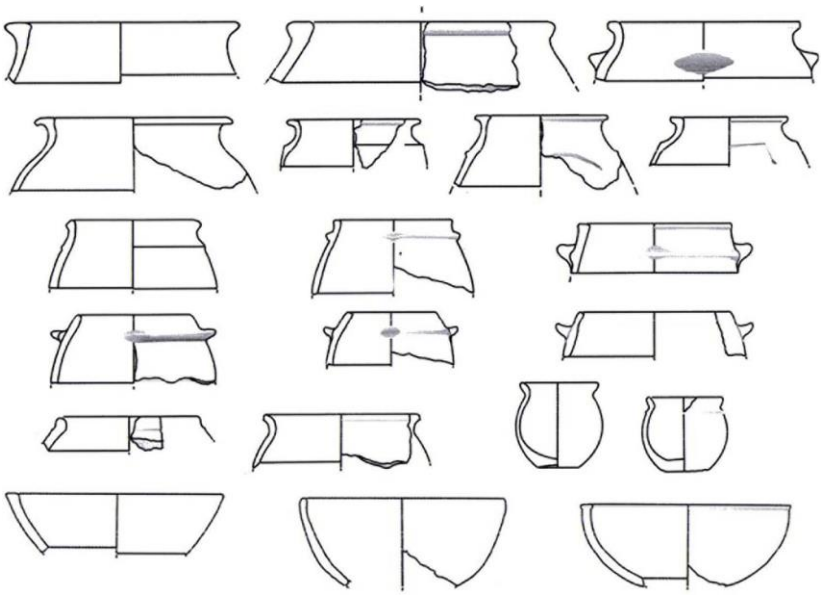

Fig.5

Portable hearths have been found in Capua, Castiglione, Cuma, and Longola (Buchner 1948: 35-42; Cicirelli and Albore Livadie 2008: 477; Jannelli 2001: 81-88; Allegro and Santaniello 2008), meaning that food in these communities was commonly prepared by boiling and steaming. Zooarchaeological studies have shown that the meat diet of the Ischian and Campanian populations consisted of beef, pork, lamb, and mutton, along with wild species and fish (Buchner 1948: 40; Cascone 2009; Cicirelli 2005: Annex 16). However, fruits, like fig and blackberry, and cereals were likely staples of the diet in the region of the Bay of Naples from the ninth to the sixth century BC (Cicirelli 2005: Annex 15).

Houses in South Iberia

Contextualisation of the Sites

In the area of southern Andalusia, local settlements have received more attention than their counterparts in the Bay of Naples region, although funerary evidence is equally abundant. Likewise, Iberian sites were inhabited throughout the period analysed. Their organisation, however, is difficult to determine for similar reasons to the Neapolitan case studies.

Southern Andalusian communities were situated at strategic points of the landscape, namely on small hills and high plateaus, including San Bartolomé de Almonte, Orden-Seminario, and Tejada la Vieja; and on higher hills, such as Lebrija, Coria del Río, Cerro Macareno, Castillejos de Alcorrín, Acinipo, and Cerro de la Era. Visual control over the surrounding territory and its resources is a common characteristic of all these sites. In the western area of Andalusia, the settlements are also close to the so-called 'Iberian pyrite belt', one of the most important metallogenic areas in the world even today (Tornos 2008: 13), which extends northwest from Alcácer do Sal in Portugal to the north of Seville province (Figure 6).

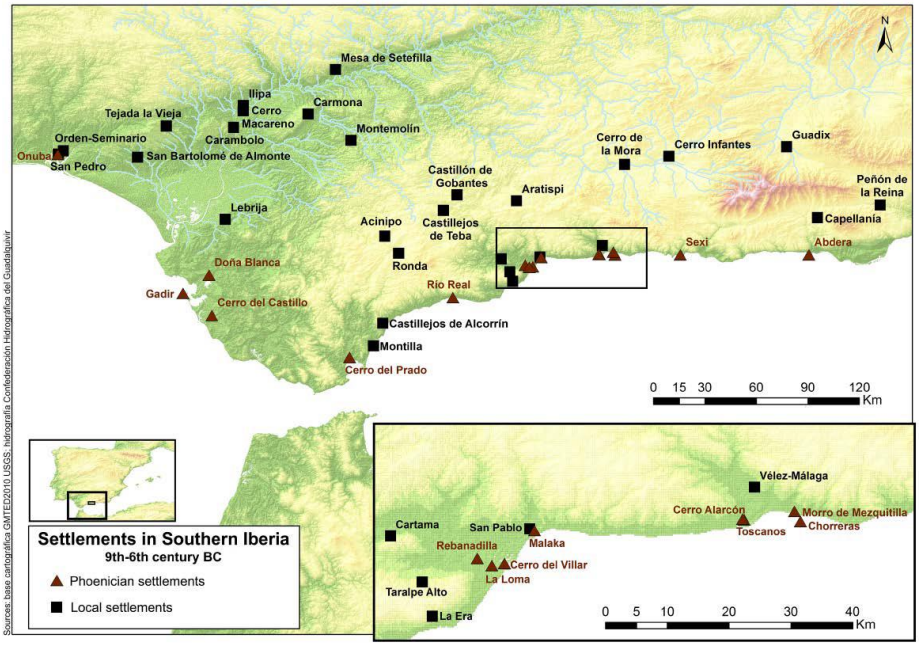

Fig.6

Despite being located relatively far from the coast today, the towns of Puebla del Río, Coria del Río, and Lebrija were situated on the coast from the ninth to the sixth century BC, by the shore of the Tartessii Sinus or the Gulf Tartésico formed by the estuary of the Guadalquivir River (Barragán 2007). Settlements such as Alcalá del Río, Cerro Macareno, Carmona, and Mesa de Setefilla were also located very close to the estuary, in the lower course of the Guadalquivir. The mouths of the Tinto and Odiel rivers also formed an estuary in antiquity, to the extent that Huelva was completely surrounded by both rivers with the exception of its northern flank, becoming almost a peninsula (Fernández Jurado 2005: 743, fig. 6). In the Cádiz and Málaga area, the coastline extended farther inland than it does currently, meaning that settlements such as Montilla, Castillejos de Alcorrín, and Cerro de la Era were actually on the coast. San Pablo and Cártama were situated on each of the banks of the Guadalhorce River, which also formed an estuary.

Dwellings in Southern Andalusia

The concept of house building in southern Iberia among local communities barely changed between the ninth and sixth century BC. During that time, building materials consisted of rough stone bases and mud walls (Bandera *et al.* 1995; Caro 1995; Suárez 2006; García 2007: 84-87; Melero 2012: 171-80; Belén *et al.* 2014). There was little variation in building techniques during these centuries, though there are differences between sites. There are houses with foundation trenches, to provide greater stability at the start of construction, such as at Acinipo (Aguayo *et al.* 1991), others in which foundations were excavated only from the seventh century BC, such as Montemolín (Bandera *et al.* 1995), and others where foundations were never laid, like Castillejos de Alcorrín and Tejada la Vieja (García and Fernández Jurado 1987; Marzoli *et al.* 2010) (Figure 7).

Fig.7

From the end of the seventh century BC, dwellings were built with mud on a square stone base, seen for example at Mesa de Setefilla (Aubet 1989) and at Cerro de La Era (López and Suárez 2003). Interestingly, some south Iberian houses adopted the 'Oriental' practice of lime coating for the first time during the seventh century BC; this stabilised mud walls and made them waterproof, as is the case at Montemolín (Bandera *et al.* 1995) and Cartama (Melero 2012: 171-80). Other communities never adopted the practice, as at Acinipo and Aratispi (Aguayo *et al.* 1991; Perdiguero 1991).

The layout of dwellings displays a mixture of traditional and novel combinations between the ninth and sixth century BC. During the first half of the period, most dwellings had an oval plan, although in some settlements both quadrangular and circular designs coexisted, e.g. at Acinipo (Aguayo *et al.* 1991). From the late eighth century BC and more widely from the beginning of the seventh, several house plans changed from an oval to a rectilinear shape, be it square or rectangular, sometimes presenting a single space, e.g. at Cerro de la Mora (Carrasco *et al.* 1988), Mesa de Setefilla (Aubet 1989); at other times presenting a compartmentalised space divided into two rooms and a courtyard, e.g. at Cerro de la Era, Montemolín, and Carmona (Bandera *et al.* 1995; Suárez 2006; Belén *et al.* 2014) (Figure 8).

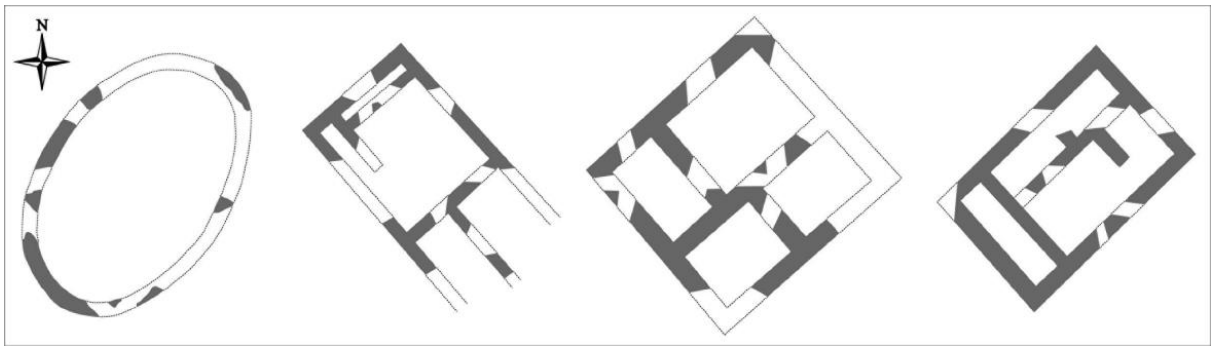

Fig.8

In several settlements, however, houses with different layouts coexisted. At Carmona, oval one-roomed multifunctional dwellings appeared along with quadrangular segmented houses at the end of the eighth century BC (Román and Vázquez 2003; Belén *et al.* 2014); the same holds true for Montemolín a century later (Bandera *et al.* 1995). In Castillejos de Alcorrín, however, the rectangular compartmentalised plan was already present from the foundation of the site in the late ninth and beginning of the eighth century BC, with no evidence of houses having circular or oval layouts (Marzoli *et al.* 2010). Acinipo is the most interesting case. Circular and rectangular plans co-occurred from the foundation of the site in the eighth century BC (Figure 9). By the seventh century BC, the predominant layout was rectangular, with a segmented internal space; a century later, however, only the circular design was used in the village (Aguayo *et al.* 1991).

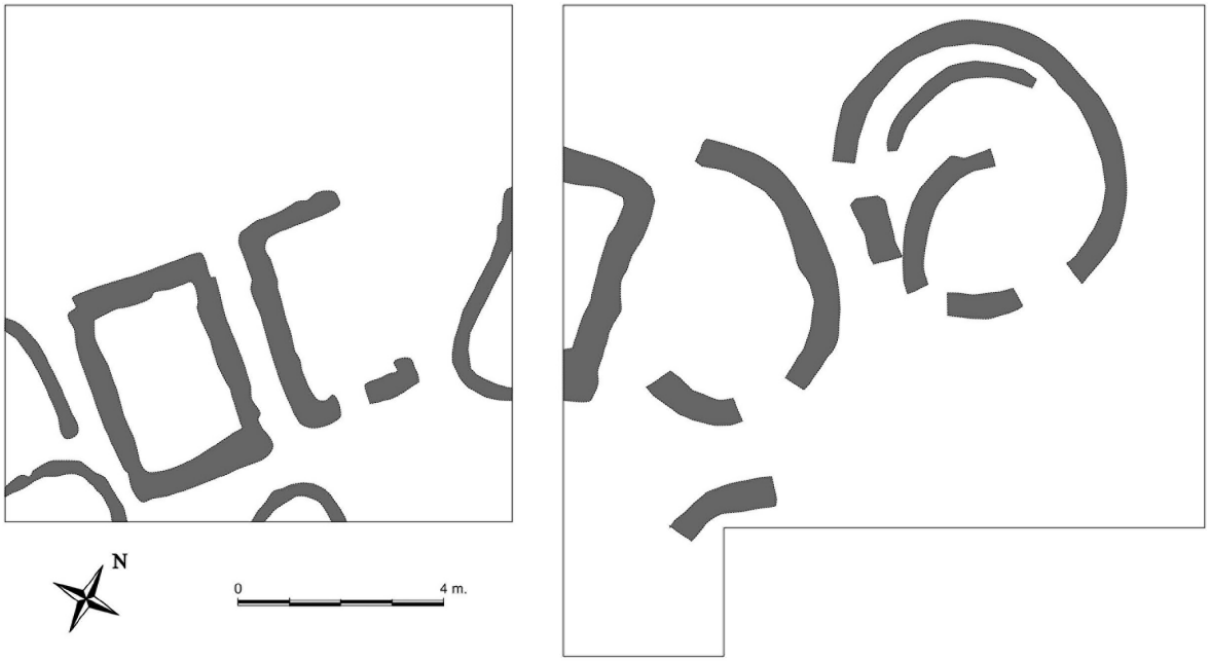

Fig.9

Activities carried out within houses are difficult to grasp in south Iberia, because many sites were excavated in the 1970s and 1980s, when household archaeology was still

undeveloped in Spain. Despite that, there is evidence that in Andalusia there were no specific areas within the settlement allocated for metal production between the ninth and sixth century BC. People established temporary huts next to the metalliferous area mentioned earlier to carry out metalwork activities. This is the case with San Bartolomé de Almonte, Peñalosa, Cerro de la Albina, and Coria del Río, all of which specialised in the production of bronze and silver artefacts (Suárez and Márquez 2014). It was not until the fifth century BC, at Tejada la Vieja, that we see particular areas designated within the settlement for metalworking and the production of pottery (García and Fernández Jurado 1987). In the rest of the sites, pottery-making probably took place in close proximity to the house.

Ritual activities are well documented in the area of Huelva in the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. South Iberia lay at the crossroads of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and the ritual deposit of weaponry in the Ría de Huelva, dated to between the late eleventh and beginning of the tenth centuries BC (Ruiz-Gálvez 1997), is a good example of the Atlantic connections and shared practices between distant regions (Bradley 2017).

No particular ritual activities, however, have been unveiled in Andalusian houses dated to the ninth to sixth centuries BC. However, there are ritual structures that follow 'Oriental' building patterns, in which offerings and material culture are clearly mixed (i.e. including local and Phoenician traditions), such as the monumental building of El Carambolo (Fernández and Rodríguez 2005), the domestic shrines at Carmona (Belén 2001) and Montemolín (Chaves *et al.* 2000), and the ritual structures excavated in Huelva (Osuna *et al.* 2000).

Little attention has been paid to textile production in Andalusia between the ninth and sixth century BC, despite the existence of spindle whorls and loom weights of different weights and sizes, which implies the production of different type of textiles in the region. As regards food preparation and consumption during this period, south Iberian communities

continued to make and use the same types of handmade vessels that were used during the Bronze Age (Ruiz and González 1994; García 2007: 275). The handmade cooking pot appears in every known settlement dating to this period (Marín-Aguilera 2015b: tables 16-17). This vessel type has an untreated porous surface and is heavily tempered, which made it particularly strong and durable, suitable for extended cooking over a low heat and thus especially useful for cooking liquid or semi-liquid food, such as cereal porridge and soup (Brumfiel 1991: 240-41; Delgado 2010). Similarly, handmade grey bowls and casseroles were most commonly used among these communities as tableware, which mostly reproduced local Bronze Age shapes (Vallejo 2005, with further refs.) (Figure 10).

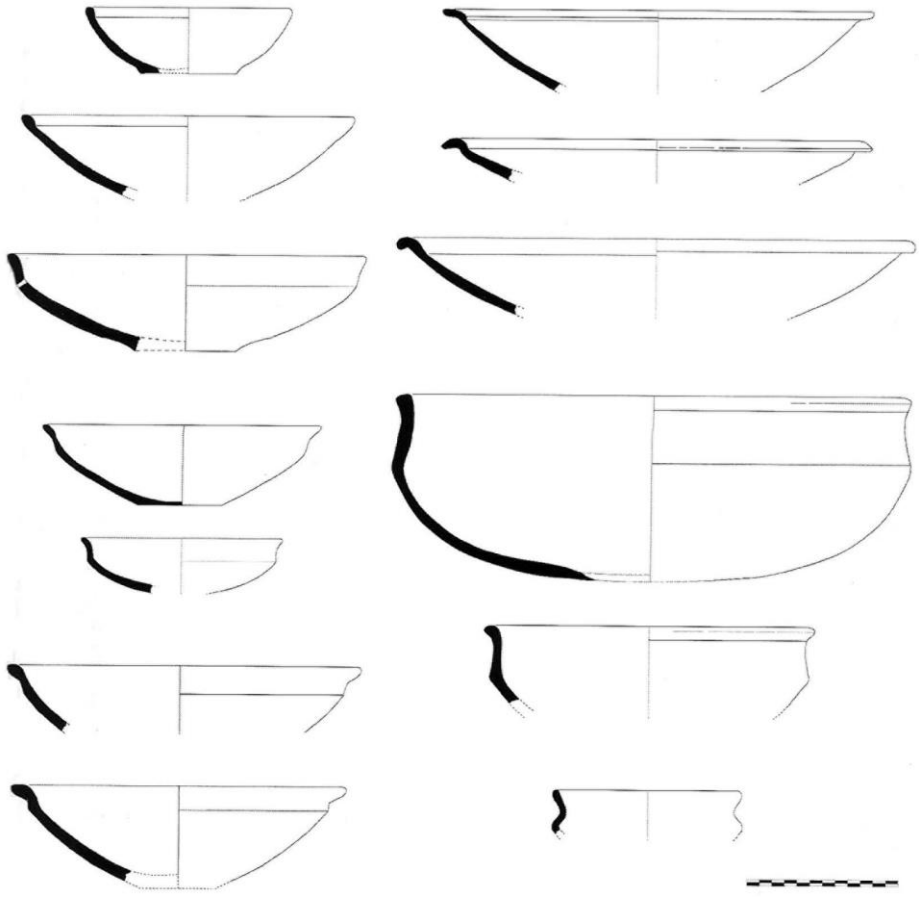

Fig.10

This is not to say that indigenous communities never adopted foreign pottery forms for use along with their usual set of vessels. Storage containers reflecting the Phoenician tradition were common in many villages, along with new varieties of ceramics for serving and consuming food, such as the Phoenician plate, jug, and pitcher. Such vessels, though, are very scarce in local domestic contexts and more numerous in cemeteries, which points to a continuation of the use of traditional pots for everyday activities (Torres 2005; García 2007).

Archaeobotanical analyses have shown that wheat and barley especially were the staple ingredients in the diet of south Iberian communities, complemented by goat, lamb, pork and, to a lesser degree, beef (Carrilero *et al.* 2002; Iborra *et al.* 2003; López 2003). However, the high proportion of adult individuals among the cattle, sheep, and goat suggests that they were first exploited for traction (cattle), and for the production of secondary products, such as milk and wool. Fluvial and maritime resources, at least at coastal sites, completed the diet of these groups in southern Iberia (Cardenete *et al.* 1989: 570; Caro *et al.* 1986: 173).

The House as a Rhizomatic Assemblage

The regions of the Bay of Naples and south Iberia offer striking case studies that illustrate the mixture of different traditions in both areas between the ninth and sixth century BC. Each regional assemblage—and each local one—is quite distinctive, but they also have many things in common. Most activities were organised within the domestic space or directly outside the house. Metalwork was the exception, carried out in temporary settlements next to the mines in Andalusia, and in specific areas at Poggiomarino in Italy. Religious rituals were carried out in a variety of ways: within the house (Castiglione); in open-air natural areas (Huelva deposit); and in apposite buildings (Longola, Carambolo, Montemolín, etc.) (Figure 11). Beyond that, textile activities, pottery making, and food production and consumption were carried out within the house or in the surrounding area. The house functioned in both

regions as a place for family-based socioeconomic activities, ensuring family cohesion and promoting a higher relationality among members of the community.

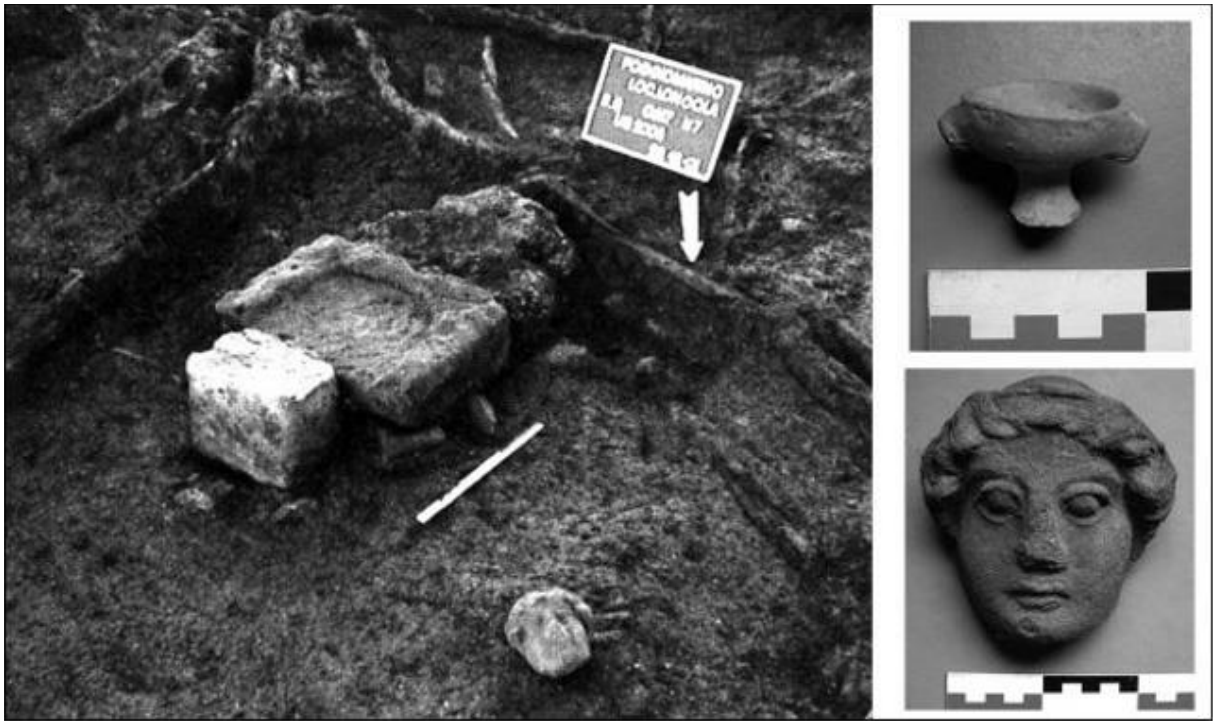

Fig.11

Most communities in both regions habitually lived in oval or rectangular houses, which required a particular movement through the domestic space. They were single open spaces in which, once inside, people could see everything and everyone (light permitting). Those types of dwellings displayed a certain arrangement of material culture, activities, people, and perhaps animals (there was a dog, for instance, at Longola, and it is likely that other domestic animals, like sheep, were around too). The single space was thus multifunctional, with areas for sleeping, storage of food and tools, religious rituals, cooking, as well as textile and pottery production in or around the house.

In southern Iberia, traditional building materials, such as coarse stone and mud, made the surfaces of dwellings rather rough. The visual presentation of these houses was a combination of the colour of the stone, and the range of colours of mud, ranging from

yellowish to brown or more reddish. In the region of the Bay of Naples, dwellings displayed the colours of wood and mud, their building materials; their exterior and interior walls were somewhat coarse as well. Earth colours, traditional building technology, and materials continued in this area through the whole period. In both areas, thatched roofs had a close resemblance to the surrounding natural environment and offered outstanding insulation against heat, but they were also highly flammable and thus potentially hazardous.

As for material culture, traditional cooking pots used over a low heat (with or without a portable hearth) containing liquid or semi-liquid preparations produced specific smells that would have been easily recognised by family members and the larger community. Open and tall bowls ensured the content did not spill out of the container once the food was served. Consumption was a profound sensorial experience: food temperature, texture, colour, smell, and flavour recalled habits—the way of cooking and consuming, memories, and practices that fostered family relations.

Mud walls on squared stone blocks introduced a different tactile experience in both regions, insofar as surfaces were more regular to the touch. Building materials did not change substantially for south Iberians, and thatched roofs continued to cover people's dwellings in the area. Nevertheless, the construction of these types of houses was more labour intensive, especially concerning the production of stone blocks.

In the case of the area of the Bay of Naples, however, this sort of architecture initiated a huge change in the perception of domestic space and its sensorial experience. Materiality embodies this transformation, for there is a change in the region from building with perishable materials to building with stone. For the first time, durability and resilience had become appealing and important qualities for the local communities. Roofed with ceramic tiles, as in the case of Capua's dwellings, the aesthetic of the house was radically transformed. A thatched roof over time became darker and blended into the surroundings, whereas tiled roofs

were orange or reddish and artificially moulded, and as such they radically changed the visual experience of the houses. The insulation properties were also transformed, as thatched roofs have a particularly good thermal performance and do not require additional insulation, in contrast to tiled roofs.

Similarly, the application of lime coating to the external surface of the house's walls in southern Iberia created a completely different tactile and visual experience. Whitewashed walls against a background of hills created an entirely different impression. Lime coating the houses helped to reflect the sun, perhaps causing eye damage over the summer because of the bright sunlight; these walls, however, felt softer and smoother than traditional ones, and they required less maintenance during rainy seasons.

Another important aspect was the segmentation process, which was neither linear nor homogenous in either of the two areas analysed. In south Iberia, it first affected important indigenous communities closer to Phoenician settlements, such as Carmona and Montemolín in western Andalusia, and Castillejos de Alcorrín in the eastern part (ninth and eighth centuries BC). In the first two cases, the plans of the buildings and the findings within them point to a more intimate relationship with the Phoenicians, and it is very likely that Phoenician groups lived with the local population. At Alcorrín, most of the pottery sherds are handmade in local style, but building plans are very similar to Phoenician types, i.e. rectangular, with a courtyard and two or more rooms surrounding it (see Gener Basallote *et al.* 2014; Gilboa *et al.* 2014). In some cases, the internal segmentation of the domestic space was reversed, as in Acinipo, where circular, single-space houses were built in the sixth century BC on top of rectangular, segmented dwellings constructed a century earlier.

In the Bay of Naples region, architectural changes took place only in the sixth century BC, with the exception of Longola di Poggiomarino, where traditional dwelling structures persisted. At Capua and Pompeii, two of the largest and most important sites, the internal

division of the domestic space began only with the use of new building materials and techniques. The fragmentation of houses was nevertheless different than in southern Iberia. Pompeiian houses were rectangular, single spaces or rectangular with the internal space fragmented into two different areas. The latter case is what defined dwellings in Longola (yet partitions here were made of wood and not stone) and Capua in the Siepone district. No courtyard house has been identified in this region.

In Campania and southern Iberia, segmented spaces created a different internal arrangement of the house, and a different distribution of activities and material culture. The interplay of light and shade was also transformed. Activities that took place in a particular area of the dwelling when the latter was a single space now needed to be rearranged. These new, fragmented houses enforced a particular itinerary for both their inhabitants and visitors. Upon entering, people could see only the activities and persons in the first room. Acoustics were also altered, for the stone internal partitions made it harder to hear people between rooms. Thus, there was major control of social interaction and, most importantly, a deeper level of intimacy.

From the seventh century BC, new tableware was introduced on south Iberian sites (plates) and in Campania (drinking vessels). The adoption of plates in south Iberia was likely associated with the introduction of new cuisine styles, e.g. solid food, and techniques, e.g. baking (Delgado 2010). It also led to the creation of a new ceramic type called ‘grey ware’ in Iberia that combined local and Phoenician-style shapes (Vallejo 2005; Marín-Aguilera 2016) (Figure 12).

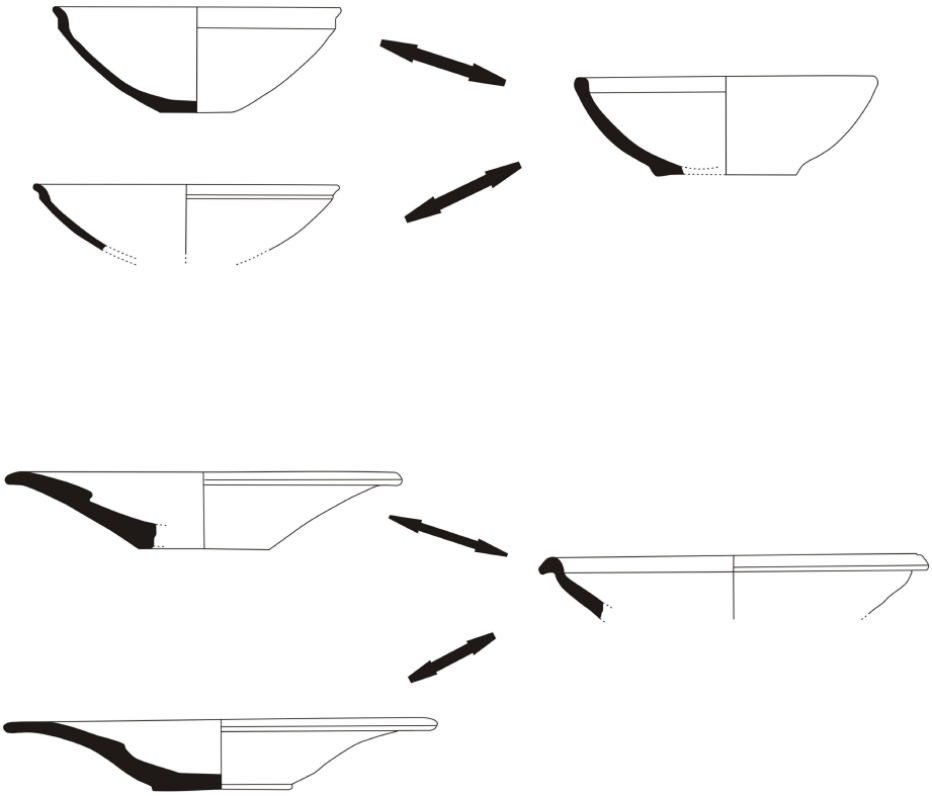

Fig.12

In the case of Campania, the introduction of drinking vessels in domestic contexts, such as *bucchero* cups, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi*, and jars, was connected to banqueting practices. 'Oriental'-style libations and banquets were adopted, and adapted, in southern Iberia only in funerary settings (Torres 2005), whereas in the region of the Bay of Naples they were performed in both domestic and funerary milieus.

The adoption and adaptation of foreign tableware added to that assemblage of new combinations. In the Bay of Naples, alien drinking vessels joined traditional tableware, albeit with different uses, within a context of conventional building materials and techniques, and therefore of traditional aesthetics, sensorial experiences, and customs. The same drinking sets, however, were used in funerary rituals at least from the eighth century BC (Cuozzo 2003; Dé Spagnolis 2001; Melandri 2010). This means that there was a transformation in domestic practices, and a change of perception regarding the use and meaning of those vessels, and thus a different becoming. Whether they were then incorporated to domestic rituals or communal

ceremonies to establish new alliances, or whether their use created new domestic practices and meanings, is difficult to know.

In the case of south Iberia, the introduction of plates was likely connected with the introduction of new food and production and consumption techniques, and their inclusion in the local dinner service was widespread in the seventh century BC, although there were differences in terms of access. Phoenician red slip plates were usually found in the larger and more connected settlements, whilst grey ware plates were more broadly distributed (Aguayo *et al.* 1991; García 2007: 390-93). In any case, the adoption of that type of shape and its implications activated a new becoming, i.e. a new arrangement of forces.

Notwithstanding these transformations, the traditional cooking pot is present at every site in both regions throughout the period, together with bowls and casseroles, which means that conventional technologies and cuisines were always predominant between the ninth and sixth century BC. It also indicates that food and cuisine acted as mnemonic devices to recall common memories within these communities, fostering sociocultural reproduction and a greater cohesion among their members.

Thus, in the region of the Bay of Naples and in south Iberia dwellings were complex assemblages of sensorial experiences, material culture, building materials and techniques, people, memories, and emotions. Most importantly, different housing assemblages produced different becomings. The inhabitants of the oval or rectangular single-space houses that continued to cook and consume their food in their traditional implements had a deeper attachment to their traditions and a stronger relationship with the members of the family.

The non-existence of internal segmentation facilitated acoustic and visual connection with other family members working in or around the house. They did not have a particular desire for intimacy, and upon entering the domestic space everyone could see everything that was taking place inside. They did not differentiate themselves from other families and other

houses, but instead fostered a shared sense of community. This was the case in southern Iberia until the seventh century BC, when most houses were or began to be compartmentalised; in the case of the region of the Bay of Naples, this development only took place in the sixth century BC.

At Longola, houses were internally divided by timber partitions, which made it more difficult to hear and see people inside, but less so than was the case with the stone divisions, as in south Iberia and at Capua and Pompeii. Thus there was some desire for intimacy, but it was not as developed as in the other cases. The partitions created new assemblages of sensorial experiences, which combined differently depending on whether the building materials and techniques had changed. When they did, the demand for intimacy intermingled with new visual and tactile experiences provoked by wall surfaces, and tiles in the case of Capua.

Whitewashed walls were not very widely adopted, and thus articulated social and aesthetic differentiation in several villages during the eighth and seventh centuries BC, when lime-coated houses coexisted with traditional dwellings. They continued to express social differences in the seventh and sixth centuries BC in relation to other settlements, where house walls did not have lime renderings.

The combination of traditional architecture, kinaesthetic and sensorial experience, and a mixture of alien and local pottery sets configured a different becoming: a self-construction that diverged from the community, by transforming houses and including alien tableware and new food. This group was more detached from tradition and more interested in fostering social and economic asymmetries, something that beforehand was seen only in relation to cemeteries (Torres 2005; Marín-Aguilera 2015a). The reasons for this greater transformation varied, ranging from a shared elite discourse to intermarriage and family/individual decisions.

Despite those changes, cooking technology remained the same in the region of the Bay of Naples and in south Iberia, and thus became a mnemonic device for recalling childhood memories and ensuring community cohesion.

Concluding Remarks

We can never grasp the 'complete' map of a rhizome—the total web of connections—but we can unravel one or several of the many assemblages that created different becomings. Dwellings are perfect case studies to glimpse continuities and discontinuities, as well as social and cultural practices and economic asymmetries. Therefore, this methodological approach to the study of houses can be applied to other contexts and communities.

In comparing two different regions inhabited by diverse communities, I have shown how the western Mediterranean between the ninth and sixth centuryBC was far more complex than is usually argued. Moreover, by focusing on what different assemblages *do*, instead of just their form or origin, we gain a better understanding of similar and dissimilar becomings and the construction of social groups in the region of the Bay of Naples and in south Iberia.

Changes, transformations, and thus 'becomings' were not an automatic response to the arrival of Phoenicians and Greeks in the central-western Mediterranean. On the contrary, house plans, materials, and techniques, together with material culture and the use of domestic spaces, indicate that performativity was grounded in the social, and that processes of becoming (different) differed within and between communities.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Map of the settlements in the region of the Bay of Naples (ninth to sixth century BC) cited in the text, as well as the Greek colonies.

Figure 2. Picture of one of the dwellings at Villaggio dei Ciclamini (Rossella Siani).

Figure 3. House structures excavated by Amedeo Maiuri in Pompeii; the Archaic dwellings of the sixth century BC are marked in red (after Maiuri 1973).

Figure 4. Houses' layout in the Siepone district, Capua (after Regis 2011).

Figure 5. Cooking and tableware assemblage found at Capua, Siepone district, and dated to the sixth century BC (after Minoja 2011, without scale in the original).

Figure 6. Map of the Phoenician and local settlements in southern Iberia (ninth to sixth century BC).

Figure 7. Aerial picture of a house at Castillejos de Alcorrín. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Madrid).

Figure 8. Houses layout at Montemolín. From left to right, eighth to sixth century BC (after Bandera *et al.* 1995).

Figure 9. Floor plan of several houses at Acinipo, Málaga, dated to the eighth century BC (after Aguayo *et al.* 1991).

Figure 10. Grey ware, common types (after Vallejo 2005).

Figure 11. Religious area at Longola di Poggiomarino (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

Figure 12. Mixture of indigenous and Phoenician pottery shapes displayed by grey ware in south Iberia.